

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

By insisting on "Unconditional Surrender" and rejecting a negotiated peace, Socialist and Tory politicians alike are

Double-Crossing The People

If any one fact reflects the sterility of British politics today, it is surely the complete failure of the left-wing groups to produce an alternative to "unconditional surrender," writes

IT is not merely in international affairs that the "victory" policy will bring disaster. "Unconditional surrender" is the justification for "no party politics" in the domestic sphere. The latter phrase is, of course, euphemistic. "No Party Politics" necessarily means Conservative Party Politics and "unconditional surrender" is another term which only the ingenuous could take literally.

The Churchill Government, indeed, knows better than to practise the doctrine it so pharisaically preaches, and has already conducted negotiations with a Badoglio, Darlan, and the fascist dictator Salazar of Portugal.

It is true, probably, that all this was according to the good Churchillian principle that a stable Government must be treated with to prevent chaos and anarchy. Socialists, however, should have less qualms about the revolutionary upturning of the old order.

In any case, it is difficult to imagine that King George and Peter will be stabilizing influences in Greece and Yugoslavia, even if one dismisses the stories that George is one of the major causes of the present Greek civil strife. Neither comes within the category of "fighters for freedom"—not, at least, for other people's freedom.

FATAL "POSTPONEMENT"

Now, if it is difficult to conceive why socialists should support such a policy for the continent, it is impossible to understand their allowing its being used as an excuse for upholding a reactionary Government here. One can only presume that they have not the courage, the moral courage, to challenge Churchill at a time when he has gained general popularity.

Yet to postpone the challenge, as

DONALD PORT

the Labour Party proposes to, until after the war is to court disaster. For the post-war world is being shaped now, and shaped by a Government which is committed to the preservation of the status quo.

The double deception of the people, in domestic as well as in international affairs, by socialists as well as by Tories, is the more tragic because of the inability of the common man to see the fraud. The old socialist tag that the people can only be educated through their stomachs has indeed redounded with unpoetic justice; for the people have been so educated to recognize that war is their major benefactor.

If the socialist is to win again the respect of the common man, he must produce a better policy than one which proceeds on the fallacious assumption that all good men are on this side of the channel and all bad men on the other; a better policy than one that, in the interests of a war for democracy, demands the delaying of the establishment of economic democracy for an indefinite period after the war is over.

ALTERNATIVE POLICY

Such an alternative policy does indeed exist.

The Peace News leader-writer was right to suggest, a few weeks ago, that "Peace by Negotiation" is not an immediate political alternative. That is not, however, because it is impossible to find a basis for a settlement, or people to negotiate with, but because few people have the honesty or foresight to declare themselves against "unconditional surrender."

I have already said that Mr. Churchill knows better than to practise the doctrine he so pharisaically preaches. He has his own terms

for Europe and a shrewd idea with whom they can be clinched.

If only these terms were stated, something would be accomplished. It would then be difficult for so many socialists to offer such uncompromising support.

To insist that to press for negotiation in the present circumstances is a waste of time is a more substantial objection, but one that cannot count with those who look for a political re-orientation of society. It is useless to talk of exercising influence in the post-war world unless that influence is exerted now.

This is the grand folly of the left-wing groups. They are unwilling to recognize that a new attitude in politics can arise only from a new set of social values; and that to propagate such a change of values will produce changes not merely at the end of the war but immediately.

INTOLERABLE TO DEMOCRACY

A democratic country would, indeed, not tolerate "unconditional surrender."

"Democracy is not only something to fight for, it is something to fight with. It is a weapon in our hands if we use it greatly, and if we use it greatly it will conquer." It is a pity the Left groups are not honest enough to take Francis Williams seriously.

A democracy would not forget what kind of Europe it was fighting for. It would constantly offer to negotiate with anyone—on the basis of such a settlement.

But what if negotiations failed? Then those who do not accept the pacifist position would fight on. What conceivably could have been lost? And is it not likely that the peoples of Europe would have learned a good deal from a pause for discussion?

Does this all seem out of gear with the "realpolitik" of our day? So it is. And high time that more people declared themselves for the recovery of political morality.

Fruits of the War

COMMENTARY

Edited by "Observer"

MR. Wedderburn, who in the House of Commons on Dec. 15 welcomed Mr. Eden back with an embarrassing Shakespeare quotation, gave a picture of Europe.

"Europe lies in ruins now, and we cannot see what new growth will come out of it. So much that is old has been torn up, very likely for ever, and so little that is new has been sown, except hatred and ill-health and bad faith, and you cannot expect good fruits from those sources. Many of those whom we hope to liberate, both in the East and the West of Europe, seem to be either fighting, or about to fight, not only against their oppressors but also against each other."

It is an old, old theme of ours: the moral and material devastation of Europe that would ensue from the attempt to "liberate" it by blockade and blockbusting. The time to make peace for Europe's sake was when the defensive battle of Britain was won, in the winter of 1940. Then, if Hitler had tried to use the peace for his "free hand" in the East, it would have been at his own peril, unless with a contented Europe behind him.

First Steps to Hell

HOW many good men have been morally lost by accepting military victory over Nazi Germany as a moral imperative! Then, by a logic as insane as it is inexorable, they are

driven to condone every device that will "shorten the war." They hand over their consciences, as Dr. McGregor points out in "The Christian's Dilemma" (For, 4d.) to the military authorities.

Why do they take this first fatal step in the easy descent to Hell? The only answer I can give is that they do not really believe in the power of the spirit of Man, or of God. They do not really believe that there is anything which can prevail against the big battalions. They cannot really conceive that it is in the power of any people to withstand the force of military tyranny. From this original pessimism of theirs there is no subsequent escape. Ultimately they are compelled to condone every barbarity against which they claim to be fighting.

The Kharkov Trial

WE, the British, have now gone much further than the Germans themselves in sheer savagery of bombing from the air. But it is still

incumbent on us to believe that the Germans are incomparably more brutal than ourselves. We declare them guilty of unspeakable atrocities. Yet we produce no evidence of these. But stories come from the shadowy East. I do not say they are untrue. But I do say that, on the evidence so far produced, no British jury would convict. The Kharkov trial does not dispel doubts; it raises them.

"The reports of the first war-crime trial, now being held at Kharkov, recall the trials of Zinoviev, Bukharin, and the rest at the time of the great purge. The defendants show the same remarkable readiness to make circumstantial confessions, and apparently gratuitous self-indictments. Even the phraseology in which the Gestapo officers bear witness against themselves is reminiscent of that of the old Bolsheviks. . . . What runs counter to all experience of Western law and practice is the smooth, mechanical efficiency with which they, one by one, invite death by full confession." (Observer, Dec. 19.)

Cannibalistic Humanity

WE must expect The Observer to cover itself by saying: "That atrocities of the kind they describe have been widely committed, and that the wretches now accused at Kharkov were involved in them, is unfortunately true beyond all doubt." But where is the evidence which makes it "true beyond all doubt"? If the Kharkov trial is fishy, as The

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NEW YEAR GIFT

TECHNICALLY the Special Effort Appeal closes with the end of this year. But there is surely no reason why those who have so far neglected it should not make amends. It would not need a very great effort to take it all the way to the goal of £1,500.

But, though the final figures are short of that, the response has on the whole been such as to hearten our Treasurer, Maurice Rowntree. The movement has relieved him of pressing anxiety. If every one of those who appreciate his devotion in resuming the office he had so lately and honourably relinquished would send a New Year's Gift, I believe the target would be reached.

Contributions since Dec. 13: £123 7s. 9d. Total to date: £1,148 17s. 11d.

THE EDITOR

Please send contributions, plainly marked "HEADQUARTERS SPECIAL APPEAL" to Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

Primate's Plea for Charity

ARCHBISHOP TEMPLE took as the central theme for his BBC service on St. Stephen's Day (Dec. 26) the example of the first martyr in forgiving (like Christ) and praying for his enemies. Three times he repeated his plea for the spirit of "charity without limit" in the days succeeding victory.

"All turns on our courage, our endurance, and our charity. Justice must be done, but if there is any hatred or bitterness in our hearts, it will make even a just action seem like indulgence in self-centred vengeance."

"We almost daily hear of the devastation caused by our bombers. We are bound to take satisfaction in their achievements, for when it is a duty to fight it is a duty to fight effectively. But oh, the misery and the horror of it all, the bitter fruit of wickedness and of the refusal of the world to acknowledge Christ as its rightful King."

Observer plainly hints, it can supply no evidence at all.

God alone knows who is guilty and who innocent in this matter. What a man knows is that this dark and murky atmosphere in which these two huge totalitarian States accuse

(Continued on page 2)

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God's in his
Kremlin

IT would require a Voltaire to do justice to the conditions of England at the end of 1943, when the National Council for Civil Liberties took a leading part in the agitation against releasing a man "detained" under a Regulation which suspended the chief of the civil liberties of Englishmen. Voltaire used to admire England precisely for these civil liberties. He would have castigated the NCCL to some purpose.

Not being Voltaire, we can only ruminate. Things were much simpler in Voltaire's day. There was one Enemy—the absolutism that was the enemy of liberty. And liberty was simply conceived; it was the right of freedom of thought and expression. Probably it was, as the historians now aver, essentially an aristocratic conception of liberty. But it gave the democratic movement which adopted it an acknowledged moral significance. It gave the French Revolution its moral title-deeds.

Since then we have had another great revolution, which sets no store by liberty. Indeed, the first distinctive act of the Bolsheviks was to dissolve the Constituent Assembly, which, in the eyes of traditional democracy, should have been sacrosanct. In pursuit of the economic liberation of the masses it cast away, into the limbo where bourgeois illusions dissipate themselves, the political and civil liberties of the individual. This new Russian society, in spite of all the obsequious explanation it receives, is an enigma. The Panglosses of what was once Liberalism assure us that the Sphinx is a friendly dog; nevertheless, it looks more like a Sphinx. We stroke it gingerly.

Any way, queer things happen in Russia. People—in large numbers—have a tendency to disappear. Persons accused by the State behave with an odd similarity: a strange uniformity of complete confession. Then there is this little mystery of the Russian conscientious objectors. Apparently they were permitted by law to exist till 1939, when it was discovered that there weren't any. So the law permitting them to exist was abolished. There is something odd about that story. Suppose, for instance, the National Council for Civil Liberties had existed in Russia and it were now abolished on the convincing ground that there weren't any civil liberties. So what?

Some years ago this Russia, where these queer things happen, became the idol of a novel and very active sect of Englishmen. For them these queer things are perfectly natural. They have, perhaps for good reasons, lost faith in the English God, and they have discovered a brand-new God in Russia. Now that Russia and England appear to be fighting on the same side, things are O.K. Stalin is the one God, so to speak, and Churchill is his prophet, pro. tem. But when Russia was not yet in, it was all wrong for England to be fighting at all. England's war became justified so soon as England's war was helping Russia.

A simple creed; which must be profoundly satisfying to its adherents. It settles the problems. But how mysteriously it has got mixed up with British civil liberties! Just as Britain's war is valid so long as it is fought for Russia, so are our civil liberties valid so long as they help Russia. But the idea of civil liberty as freedom to criticize, aye and even oppose, Russia is, to this novel and active sect, a damnable heresy. To let an untried and unconvicted Englishman out of gaol because he is an Englishman outrages civil liberty; to keep him in because he is an anti-Russian, or may be an anti-Jew, is an assertion of civil liberty. A mad world, my masters! But we shall be lucky if we get out of it.

Britain's Last Chance?

by JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

ONE of the main needs of pacifists today is to read and discuss the books of intelligent non-pacifists who are as eager for world-peace as they are themselves.

Such a book is Commander King-Hall's "Britain's Third Chance" (Faber and Faber, 8s. 6d. net). The first chance—to take the lead in organizing world-peace—was from 1900-1914; the second from 1919 to 1939; the third is now. The chances are progressively more difficult to take. Britain's position of power also steadily declines.

Part I is an admirable statement of the problem at various "levels of inquiry." The first page of the first chapter asserts: "The problem of peace is fundamentally a spiritual problem; it is the problem of learning how to love one's neighbour as oneself," and the last words on the page are these:

"Peace is only good when it is a peaceful peace: that is to say, a peace based on free will. An imposed peace is an armistice."

PEACE PLAN

That should be enough to show that Commander King-Hall is on the side of the angels. His two chapters on "The Problem of the Germans" and "The Personification of Nations" are as good and convincing an argument against what is called "Vansittartism" as the pacifist is likely to find.

But Commander King-Hall is all for "unconditional surrender." He is confident that it will come. He is probably right. He is much less confident that his plan, or enough of its substance to secure what he believes it could secure—world-peace—will be put into action. His dubiety is, I think, even better grounded than his confidence. I have not space to enter into the full details of his peace-plan, but since it is essential to it that there should be a prolonged period of armistice before peace is made, I may say something about that.

The armistice shall be for three years, and its terms are solely devoted to ensuring that the Wehrmacht cannot begin fighting again. There should be created, for the armistice period, two supreme bodies (a) The European Council: the Big Three; (b) The Far Eastern Council: the Big

Three plus China. The European Council's No. 1 Committee (Maintenance of Peace) should control a force capable of maintaining internal security in all parts of Europe: 1,000 bombers, 2,000 fighters, 4 air-borne divisions, 6 armoured divisions and 10 infantry divisions, with its main base in Germany. It must make "a supreme effort to clamp down on private vengeance throughout Europe." (Incidentally, have pacifists any other solution of this problem? Do they ever consider it?)

"During this armistice period whatever government or whatever man or men are administering any part of Europe must be subject in the broad issues of territorial limits, reasonable toleration of race, religion and political thought, and war-making powers to the over-riding sovereignty of the European Council."

Frontiers during this period shall be as in 1938: with one possible exception. Russia may demand different frontiers immediately.

"If she wants them no power on earth can prevent her having them. If we do not oppose Russia in matters where our opposition has no chance of being effective, we shall be in a better position to exert our influence with her in respect of the acceptance by Russia of cultural freedom in her border-states. What is the alternative? I will put it bluntly. If we fall out with Russia over her eastern European policy one of two things will happen. Either we shall find ourselves, perhaps alone, perhaps with USA, more likely the former, moving towards an Anglo-German alliance against Russia, or we shall see a German-Russian understanding growing up."

PRELIMINARY TASKS

Neutrals, just as occupied countries, will be required to obey the European Council while, by its various executive committees, it tries to achieve the main purposes for which the armistice period is needed. These are—

- "(a) to carry out the technical military disarmament of Germany,
- "(b) to establish stable administrations, democratic in outlook, in Europe,
- "(c) to restore a minimum of economic order and wellbeing in Europe on an all-European basis,
- "(d) to allow of a certain abatement of war passion.

"Then, and only then, has a Peace Conference any hope of success, and even then . . . it will not be wise to expect too much of such a gathering."

Probably Commander King-Hall is right: and on some such armistice depends what chance there is of organized world-peace. During the armistice period we shall have time to discuss his peace plans; if the armistice doesn't happen it is not worth while discussing them: except

Continued from page 1

Germany" Why "of course"? Of course, we all know. Because Germany is our enemy, and Russia our ally.

Killing Men's Hopes

IN occupied Italy we refuse to allow a conference of democratic delegates. Benedetto Croce, the Goethe of modern Italy, protests passionately against our recognition of King Victor Emmanuel.

"The obstacle which we ask you to remove is the person of King Victor Emmanuel, who opened the gates to Fascism, and has favoured it, maintained it, and served it for more than 20 years. He has followed it in all its actions and in all its most immoral persecutions, and finally in its senseless declaration of war against England and France, and now remains, after the fall of Mussolini, the real and principal representative of Fascism. To insist that Italy must preserve the present King as its ruler is to pretend that one who has been resurrected must remain embraced in the arms of a corpse." (N. Chronicle, Dec. 22.)

The humbug of our "liberation" of Europe is revealed. The Germans will beat us yet: for they are deliberate nihilists. We, professing a positive creed but having none, will do the greater damage. We kill men's hopes at birth.

Dream World

I WHISPER to myself that this lesson is being learnt in innumerable places throughout Europe today. Mine is, I confess, nothing more than a dim and tender faith. But I have it, and I cling to it. It is that, in the agony and travail of Europe today, a new consciousness is being born, to which liberator Britain will be as alien as oppressor Germany or equivalent Russia. The Europe which is suffering equally at the hands of both will not judge between them. It will have learnt a deeper lesson than these embattled Nations have learnt themselves.

I do not believe that Europe will be dominated by Russia, or Britain, or USA; neither do I believe that Europe will suffer itself to be torn in pieces between them. I do not believe that any emigre government—French, Belgian, Dutch, Czech, Greek, Yugoslavian—can speak for the people it has left behind. I believe that all the statesmen, from the Big Three downwards, are living in a dream world, and that Europe, her new unity forged in common suffering, will arise to astonish and shame them all. Credo.

to say that they are liberally conceived.

My criticism is simple. I gravely doubt whether British or American democracy will be willing to carry the responsibility of such an armistice. Commander King-Hall is aware of the difficulty. "We have (he says) the experience of 1919-20 to warn us of the reality of the danger that uninformed public opinion will refuse to make the sacrifices necessary in the armistice period." The evidence, so far as it goes, is that neither the soldiers nor the public are any more prepared for these sacrifices than they were in 1919. I hope I am proved wrong.

I hesitate to suggest that Commander King-Hall should ask himself what reason he has for believing that total war makes the citizens of democracy more responsible-minded than they were before. Yet that is what he has to believe: for he is quite clear that Britain's third chance will be much more difficult to take than her two previous ones—pre-1914, and 1919.

I believe that total war destroys the foundations of responsible democracy. It is not a comfortable belief. I would much rather that Commander King-Hall's precarious optimism were justified by the event than my own pessimism. That is at least a genuine and deserved tribute to the spirit which animates his book. Every pacifist would be the better for reading it and arguing his case against it honestly: i.e. without recourse to the clichés of pacifism.

WORDS OF PEACE—53

The Deepest Unity

THE world has forgotten, if it ever discovered, that, down beneath race, rank, religion, there is a fundamental humanity—man as man—which is universal and everywhere the same . . .

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Council for Civil
Liberties

"SHY OF C.O.s"

This country needs a National Council for Civil Liberties; but unless you undergo a change of heart you have no right to the title and should abdicate in favour of a body that has. Otherwise it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that you are using a name to which you have no title, but which is likely to attract the support of those who really believe in civil liberty, for the furtherance of your own political ends.

THIS grave charge against a body which, in the past, has given valuable service to the cause of freedom in this country is made by Principal George Sutherland, of Dalton Hall, Manchester, in the current CBCO Bulletin.

In an open letter to the NCCL, he refers not only to the Council's attitude to Regulation 18B (dealt with more fully in our leader on this page) but also to its "shyness of C.O.s." This has been evidenced lately by "the studied evasiveness" with which the Council has replied to the CBCO's appeals for its help in dealing with the civil liberties aspect of three particular cases of harsh treatment of C.O.s:

"the case of the prohibition of conventions of Jehovah's Witnesses; the deportation of Mr. Schroeder; and the legal wangle by which a man who refused to pay a fine of £50, for non-payment of which the maximum legal sentence is three months' imprisonment, was then given instead of the fine a new sentence of twelve months' imprisonment."

Principal Sutherland comments:

"You have astonishingly indicated in these cases that the Council's policy was to refrain from protest at any infringement of civil liberty that was technically within the law. But you are not a council for the enforcement of legal rights; you profess to be a council for the promotion of civil liberty, and where gross violations of liberty are shown to occur within the law these should be the very occasions to excite your protest and your agitation in favour of an amendment of the law."

LETTERS to the EDITOR

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

C.O.s in the U.S.S.R.

TO what better authority could we go than the Communist Party of Great Britain for conditions in USSR? I quote the answer to the sixth question in an enlightening little catechism on the Red Army by Ivor Montague, published by the Russia Today Society.

"There used to be exemption for objectors on religious grounds but this was abolished about two years ago, as there had been no applications for exemption on this ground for the previous two years."

This was published, I believe, in 1941.

C. C. SIMMONS

25-Grange Av.,
E. Barnet, Herts.

May I quote from "How the Soviet State is Run" (Pat Sloan), page 110?

"Conscientious objectors, so long as their objections were of a bona fide religious character, were permitted exemption, until the new military law was adopted in 1939. By this law, exemption for religious conscientious objectors was abolished, since, for two years, there had not been a single applicant for exemption out of the whole population of the USSR."

GORDON WARD

2 Park Drive,
Potters Bar, Middlesex.

That seems to settle the question of fact. It leaves me doubtful whether I was justified in saying that in Russia the CO is "exterminated as vermin." What emerges is that, by some very mysterious process, COs in Russia have been completely liquidated. That pacifism should have expired spontaneously in the country of Leo Tolstoy is beyond my power to believe.—Ed., PN.

The Future of the P.P.U.

The last thing I want to see is parents (or others) keeping their mouths shut when some youngster asks them to give him their line on the cruelly perplexing issues of modern war. That's one of the things they are there for. But to my mind at any rate there's a vital difference in degree between answering a young person's questions when asked, and going in for an effort at counter-propaganda aimed at the under-18s.

The effort of trying "to help boys and girls to think straight on the issues involved" is a job only for those who know them most intimately—and then it's generally a case of example, not words. It is not a matter into which I should care to see the PPU, as a body, intrude; it can only be done individually, and, since it is private and personal, individuals should wait until asked before attempting to offer information and advice. Frankly, I don't like the idea of some pacifist getting into a Sunday School class and then having a go at them; it seems a bit indecent.

"Leave them alone and they'll come home..." Do let us trust the youngsters; the true growth of consciousness brings a person to the pacifist position at some time or other—unless somebody (yes, it may be the State) meddles with them. Only do let's realize that more meddling won't put matters right. Our example (if it's any good) is the most strengthening thing we can offer them when they are being assaulted, and it's worth whole waggons-loads of words.

As for my saying that we couldn't become pacifists until we'd taken part in war, I didn't know I had said it; though indeed that may truly be the case for some who cannot become pacifists through the flowering of the imagination.

PIERS PLOWMAN

Piers Plowman, a member of the young generation, is in many respects right, and makes us realize the danger of parents and teachers forming the beliefs of young people. However, many like myself realize what tremendous power is working to cause the boys and girls to accept war as a necessary evil. We need great faith in the power of good over evil, but must see to it that this shows in our lives with the children. Our earnest talks will be of no avail, and will probably have the effect of causing automatic opposition. The problem is tremendous, for our children must be trained to be social beings. I find myself frequently reacting to the war propaganda by saying, "Don't follow other people; think for yourself."

PACIFIST MOTHER

you should have all these

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WILFRED WELLOCK

replies to criticisms of his views on the

Mechanization of Man

The correspondence that has been proceeding in *Peace News* in recent months, has revealed that a revolution in outlook and purpose is taking place within the PPU of so profound a nature as to promise far-reaching consequences. It has also revealed a common desire for a new social purpose whereby the workaday life of men may be reintegrated into the unity of religion and life from which industrialism has completely divorced it. It is only when we come to the means by which this shall be done that the road begins to divide.

MOST of the detailed criticisms of my case have been well answered by other correspondents. I think, therefore, that the best use to which I can put the two articles allotted for my reply is to relate the discussion to basic considerations.

Careful examination reveals that most of the criticism arises from an incomplete understanding of my argument, and especially of the deeper effects of industrialism upon our civilization. I therefore propose to restate the main points of my argument in "A Mechanistic or a Human Society?"

- (1) The outstanding facts in the life of our time are human decay and the passing of democracy.
- (2) The primary cause of this degeneration is the substitution of money values for human and spiritual values, which has been greatly facilitated by the discovery and development of the power machine.
- (3) The use of the machine for the purpose of profit led to the denial of Christian teaching; the decay of religion; the loss of craft, of social responsibility, and of economic security; the disintegration of the individual, the home, and of society as a community.
- (4) The machine has now become of primary, and man of secondary, importance, the majority of humans now being mere tools of mass-production.
- (5) The process of human degradation unfits man for creative leisure and makes him the victim of every kind of mass emotional appeal.

- (6) Industrialism, having mechanized and dehumanized the worker, next transforms him into a robot and mass-man, and into a unit in an economic society.
- (7) In an economic society, and in the mass-man, democracy loses its meaning and finally perishes.
- (8) At the appropriate moment, State-cum-vested-interest-controlled propaganda, education, religion, and entertainment provide ideological substitutes for the faith, outlook, and satisfactions which derive from the labour and conduct of a fully integrated persons in a society of persons, and thereby destroys all hope of a social revolution within the framework of the existing social system.
- (9) Even in Britain the borderline between constitutional and revolutionary politics has already been crossed, thus converting our democracy into a skillfully operated camouflaged totalitarianism that will harden as circumstances demand.
- (10) The chief task of our age is to reverse this process and to reintegrate man as a human person.
- (11) This calls for a fundamental social revolution, the recasting of our industrial existence in accordance with spiritual values, and the development of an economy of neighbourliness.
- (12) This revolution must start with the cultivation of the land, from which all material values spring. From first to last machinery must serve the interests of quality production, of craft, utility, and beauty.
- (13) In the new order, work will cease to be drudgery, but will become the highest and holiest form of human activity, spiritually and materially creative, joyful, and satisfying.
- (14) In the machine age Democracy can only exist in regions of limited dimensions, each region possessing a large measure of political and economic autonomy.

If the above conclusions are valid, or even if it be conceded that industrialism has produced an economic society, it follows that no fundamental social problem, such as unemployment or social and international peace, can be solved within its framework, since such a society is necessarily composed of groups or classes whose primary aim is to maintain and increase whatever economic advantage they possess. Where, as in Britain, highly privileged classes, including the big vested interests, occupy the seats of power and control the chief agencies by which that power is held, nothing short of violent revolution will dethrone them.

I would therefore ask John Bough, Maurice Butcher, Bill Grindlay, E. Maires Bond, A. G. Scott, and others to ponder further these three propositions: first, that the beginning of social salvation must be the reintegration of the human person; second, that this can only come through the restoration of spiritual values involving a new social outlook, a new attitude towards man, and a new social and economic structure; and third, that this revolution cannot take place within the orbit of power politics, but only through the creative efforts of individuals and groups.

The embodiment of those lost values in actual living may produce a rapid and widespread spiritual awakening and be followed by a new Golden Age of human development and social achievement. The early stages will be hard and slow, but the depredations of a century cannot be overcome in a decade.

Amersham Regional Council recently invited a number of COs in the district who were not attached to the PPU to meet PPU members at the Turret Hall, Amersham. Invitations were sent to some sixty or more COs in Amersham, High Wycombe, Aylesbury, Chesham, Chorleywood, Jordans, Gerrards Cross, and the Chalfonts. A number of these turned up, and the total number of persons present was about fifty. The Council consider the experiment to have been a success and propose to repeat it early in the spring with the object of still further increasing the fellowship among COs of all shades of opinion in the Region.

London Area PPU is holding another social and dance at the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1, on Jan. 15 at 6.30. There will be dancing to Frank Robbins's Band, a repeat display of the pictorial history of the PPU, a bring-and-buy sale, refreshments, and the ever-popular "London Area Diversions."

VAN GOGH colour cover!

VERA B'ITTAIN writes long introductory essay to six statements by ex-prisoners in

PRISONER'S CIRCLE

Published at 1s. by PRISON MEDICAL REFORM COUNCIL, 5 Lower Camden, Chislehurst, Kent.

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.
The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

★ PPU HEADQUARTERS, ★

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

Negotiated Peace Campaign

IT is no use glossing over the fact that the PPU, as a movement, has done little campaigning for a negotiated peace, although we have been talking about it for more than two years. The reasons why most members and groups have not taken a more active part in the effort to bring the war to an end by other means than military power are so varied that it is not possible to analyse them in this short space; it must suffice to say that we are all responsible.

There are many questions about a negotiated peace which members—as well as the "man in the street"—are asking, and it is true that so far these questions have not been sufficiently fully or realistically answered. But some of the people who pose these questions might well ask themselves two further ones. Firstly, what will be the hope for Europe if the war ends in military victory for one side or the other? And secondly, what will be our position in the post-war period if we have created the impression with the vast majority of people that we are keeping safely in our shells during the time of trouble?

One of the things we have said so consistently that it has become a platitude among us is that one of the effects of total war today is to develop totalitarianism among all those nations taking part. This fact will become even more apparent when the war is over and those people who think quite honestly that they are fighting for "freedom and democracy" discover that in reality they have been fighting for something very different. In that period the people who can show that they stood clearly for a negotiated peace and a cessation of hostilities throughout the war itself will be in the strongest position to command public respect.

Many people have been somewhat nervous of the reception which would be accorded negotiated peace propaganda.

The plain fact is that where it has been tried it has very often proved the "livest" subject the movement has put before the public during the war. The few successful public meetings we have had recently have almost all been on negotiated peace; the best press controversies have nearly all been on the ending of the war.

There is a small and noisy opposition to our efforts, headed mainly by a few "diehards" and the Communist Party; but I believe that the majority of people are not hostile to the idea of negotiation. Anyone who has listened to some of the open-air meetings we have held on this subject should be convinced of this fact.

The absence of negotiated peace publications has slowed down activities in some places, but these are now coming off the press more rapidly. There are three leaflets available for wide distribution, with more on the way—and all over the country there are hundreds of meetings where these can be distributed.

One London Group is now aiming at distributing leaflets at all the political meetings being held in the district and conducting a small door-to-door distribution as well. This might well be taken up more widely throughout the country.

Let us work towards making 1944 a year in which we do our utmost to change the "unconditional surrender" mentality, bringing a greater realization that the method of violence does not pay ultimately, whether practised by fascist or democratic Powers.

Geoffrey Pittcock-Buss

Only a few copies of the leaflet "Will Victory Ensure Peace?" are now left, but a new edition is in hand. Pamphlets of value in the Negotiated Peace Campaign include:

The Better Victory. Rev. A. D. Belden. Christianity Calling (25 Windermere Ct., Wembley, Middlesex). 2s. 6d. per dozen.

Don't Be a Gull! "Written for those who want lots more war and for those who don't by one of the latter." Strickland Press (104 George St., Glasgow C.1). 3d.

Germany and the Hitlerite State: Lord Noel-Buxton. (Reprinted from the Contemporary Review, Jul. 1943, and obtainable through the PPU.)

JANUARY P.N. PAMPHLET

Are there any principles on which a consistent justice between the nations could be established? What are the features of arbitration as an instrument of peace?

These questions, rendered topical by current discussion of schemes to ensure peace in the post-war world, will be dealt with in the January Peace News Pamphlet, entitled "Conciliation and Justice," by Alan Staniland.

Supplies of the pamphlet will be dispatched with the issue dated Jan. 14 (No. 396); alterations to standing orders should reach this office not later than first post on Tuesday, Jan. 11.

'One World' Demands 'ONE HUMANITY'

Tribunals and Mining

THE Government's desperate attempts to raise more coal continue to have their effect on conscientious objectors. Quite apart from the ballot method of choosing men for the pits, those who object to all direct forms of war service are now faced with the problem at their tribunals.

We have already reported that minework underground was made the condition of Stanley Hilton's registration as a CO when the Appellate Tribunal at last recommended him for discharge from the army. The December issue of the CBCO Bulletin, on the other hand, reports that "The Appellate Tribunal has allowed an appeal against coal-mining by giving wide alternative conditions."

Fuller details of both these cases are given in the Bulletin, which is obtainable from the Central Board, 6 Endsleigh St., London W.C.1, price 3d., and which also features a message to COs from Cecil H. Wilson, MP, and "Conscription After the War?", a consideration of the position of the CBCO by its Chairman, Fenner Brockway.

Also published in December is one of the Board's most valuable pamphlets to date: "The CO and the National Service Acts."

It is as complete a guide for both men and women COs—and for their advisers—as could be wished for in handy form. It costs only 6d. and is set out so that any point on which information is desired can be easily and quickly found.

Sutton and Cheam Civil Defence Committee, appointed a conscientious objector as a fire-guard officer, said the chairman, "because he was the best man for the job," reported the E. News, Dec. 15.

When Ivy Violet Watson, of Walthamstow, appeared at Stratford Police Court on Dec. 23 for failing to comply with a direction to be a kitchen maid at a maternity hospital, she was sentenced to £25 or three months imprisonment. She is now in Holloway.

A party of between thirty and forty men and women sang carols outside Wormwood Scrubs Prison for about an hour and a half on Dec. 22. Those taking part included Patrick Figgis, Albert Tomlinson, and some who had themselves been in Wormwood Scrubs.

Prisoners were heard to rattle the windows of their cells.

There were 30 COs in Wormwood Scrubs. Carols were also sung outside Armley Jail, Leeds.

NEW YEAR DANCE AND SOCIAL

LONDON AREA P.P.U.
CONWAY HALL, Red Lion Sq., W.C.1
SATURDAY, JANUARY 15th, 7-10.30
Frank Robins and his Band: London Area
"Floor Show": Running Buffet: Bring and Buy Sale, etc.

TICKETS 2s. each from 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1, or at the door

TO BE FOUNDED SHORTLY WANDSWORTH BOROUGH ESPERANTO INSTITUTE

FOUNDER MEMBERSHIP £1 includes 5s. Correspondence Course for self or friend.

Plan in progress to sell textbooks to 10,000 people and introduce Esperanto to 50,000.

Publicity will be undertaken in national, provincial and specialist press; so people throughout Great Britain can support the scheme without prejudice to their local efforts.

(Profits on address slips—7s. 6d. 1,000—to be devoted to the cause)

Information from the Organiser:

W. J. BRIGDEN, Esperanto Lecturer, Tutor and Publicist, 125 Drakefield Rd., London, S.W.17.

America's Food-Relief Challenge to Britain

In his famous book "One World," Wendell Willkie stressed the necessity for political thinking and organization on a global scale. Dr. Howard Kershner has now written a book called "One Humanity," and it is tempting to suppose that he is thus reminding his readers that any world order which is not to be a tyranny must be preceded by a realization of world brotherhood. He is surely right in regarding the question of saving the starving children in occupied Europe as the crucial test of brotherhood, at any rate among "the United Nations."

DR. Kershner was engaged in large-scale relief work in Europe from January 1939 until late 1942 and the story which he tells briefly and modestly in "One Humanity" is a noble one.

He began with relief work in Spain, and he reports that General Franco readily gave permission to send food through his blockade to children on the opposite side in the Spanish war. Thus, those who now refuse relief to hungry Europe are showing themselves less humane than General Franco!

Most important is Kershner's plan for sending cereals, fats, meat, and milk to 10,000,000 children and mothers in Norway, Holland and Belgium, and France, at the rate of 51,000 tons monthly. "There has been widespread approval of this project," he writes, "as it is now generally realized that vitamins and milk are no longer sufficient to save these children."

WOULD LONDON AGREE?

Kershner tells of his campaign in Britain a year ago and reports that "many members of the Government and a very large part of the membership of both Houses of Parliament would agree, I think, that it would be

good strategy and good charity and the best of common sense to send food through the blockade for controlled and limited feeding."

If the initiative came from America," he adds, "I do not believe that the resistance in London would be serious."

Back in the United States Kershner interviewed Washington officials. "I found real understanding of the whole matter, and every desire to be helpful. I believe it is proper to say that Washington has approached London on the subject. . . ."

A little later he says, "It may be that our Government will have to take a firm stand, as Turkey did on behalf of food for Greece. If we make it clear to our Government that we want this done, it is highly probable that it will be done and that the children will be saved."

U.S. SENATE MOVE

Dramatic confirmation of Kershner's view of the political situation is given in messages from Washington. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee unanimously called upon the State Department to work out in co-operation with Britain, Sweden, and Switzerland a system for moving food supplies to the people of occupied European countries.

Senator Gillette declared that an attempt would be made to obtain

immediate action by a simple Senate Resolution which would not require House or Presidential approval, but would notify the State Department that the Senate believes immediate steps should be taken to provide relief to such countries as Belgium, Norway, Poland, the Netherlands, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia.

This Reuter message on December 20 was followed by a British United Press report on the following day that the Senate had been unable to decide the matter before its Christmas recess but that the resolution would be put before the Senate after the recess.

These crucial moves in America should be brought to the notice of

From dawn on Dec. 30 to midnight on Dec. 31 many of those who believe that more must be done by Britain to save the hungry children in Europe are observing a fast as an appeal to the conscience of the nation. It is hoped that all will give special thought and prayers during these two days.

every Member of Parliament at once, and all supporters of the Food Relief Campaign are urged to write or wire the Foreign Office now urging that the Senate initiative should be met by readiness on the part of the British Government to fall in with whatever extensions of relief are proposed.

ALL AVAILABLE SPACE FOR DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS IN NEXT TWO ISSUES ALREADY BOOKED

WHEN CORRESPONDING with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification and date.

DISPLAYED Advertisements. MAXIMUM space allowed: Three column-inches. LATEST TIME for copy first post Friday.

MEETINGS, &c.

ESHER MEETING of the Society of Friends will hold "At Home" for C.O.s, Sat., Jan. 8, 5.30 prompt—9 p.m., at Friends' House, Claremont Lane, Esher. All C.O.s in Esher, Walton, Weybridge, Hersham, Shepperton and Claygate cordially invited. Music and refreshments.

EX-PRISON C.O.s' breakfast, 9 o'clock, Jan. 2, at 1 Endsleigh St. All are welcome.

MERSEYSIDE. "Shall India Live?" John Hoyland will speak at the Unity Centre, Williamson St. (off Church St.), Liverpool, on Sat., Jan. 8, 1944, at 3 and 6 p.m. (two sessions).

PARENTS' CONFERENCE on "Education for Peace," 3 p.m., Jan. 8, Alliance Hall, Westminster.

PERSONAL

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, Secy., PN, 19 Ty Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.

SITUATIONS VACANT

AN OPPORTUNITY occurs in well established Preparatory school, 15 miles N. London, for educated young woman (experienced) or willing to learn Kindergarten teaching. Good salary, holidays. Brookhouse School, Turnford, Broxbourne, Herts. 2282.

TEACHER, preferably General Science, personality appealing lively children, for interesting varied work co-ed school giving scope free and individual methods but little free time. Share work communal life with young keen staff. Photo. Freemount, Bacton, Hereford.

WANTED, married couple, cook and waiter, quiet, unassuming, willing. Good home offered in small country Guest House near Camberley, Surrey. On bus route, close station. Box 215 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

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YOUNG MAN, C.O., wants job with intelligent outlook. Some experience market gardening, driving; progressive interests. Suggestions? Box 234 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MISCELLANEOUS

GROUP MEDITATION (London), Yoga and Heard-Huxley theories. Active proponents, write Bragg, Merville, 105 Tulse Hill, S.W.2.

INSTITUTE PSYCHOLOGY, Kensington. Lectures every Tuesday 7 p.m. Philosophy, genuine social introductions, Consultations all problems. Western 8935.

REG. J. BAILEY, M.S.F., N.C.P., Osteopath and Naturopath, member of British Freedom League, ex-Maldstone Graduate, C.O. Natural treatment of disease. Eye specialist; glasses dispensed with. Consultation by appointment, 134 Hoppers Rd., Winchmore Hill, N.21. Palmers Green 7868.

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ACCOMMODATION

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DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock (Station: Ambergate: Tel Ambergate 44).

ELDERLY COUPLE with son (pacifist) offer furnished room(s) to suitable woman in exchange for services in morning. Fisher, 3 De'oe Av., Kew Gardens, Surrey.

FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McCraith and Brooks. Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 5 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

PACIFIST gardener wants house, cottage, or flat, with large garden, South or West of England. Willing and progressive. Box 236 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WYE VALLEY (and Forest of Dean). Guest house in own parkland 150 acres. Very tranquil. Mild district. Delightful walking centre. From £3. "Lindors," St. Briavels, Glos.

YOUNG PACIFIST COUPLE urgently need house or flat near Uxbridge. Oliver, 69 Castle Rd., Northolt, Middlesex.

EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3.

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LAMB BRAND Typewriter Ribbons. Cleanest, longest, 3s. 6d. each, postage paid; 10s. three; 18s. 6d. six. Name models, colours, Peace News. Hardmans, 15 Prospect Place, Preston.

LITERATURE, &c.

CHURCHILL AND RUSSIA. Read "Bolshevik Bogy in Britain," by Emrys Hughes, Editor of Forward. 80 pages, facts, figures, quotations. Post free 1s. 3d. from Forward, 26 Civic St., Glasgow C.4.

GIFT FOR C.O.s in prison. "How Green Was My Valley." Relatives write. Marshall, 21 Wheatlands Drive, Bradford, Yorks.

BOOKS LOANED to C.O.s on land, etc.; without obligation. Write for list Marshall as above.

LOVE rules the world. It is undying, unalterable, the One and only Power and Attraction. "The Voice Within," the organ of the Friends of God. Contents: The Foundation Stone; Life; Creative Evolution; The Spiritual Law of Attraction; etc. 2s. 6d. post free, apply Secretary, Brynhyfryd, Beaumaris, Anglesey.

"NEWS! News! War-Time Commentary" by Susan Miles, 48pp. free-verse, 1s. 6d. post free. Sutton Rectory, Sandy, Beds.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

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Personal stories of war-resisters in all parts of the world, collected from the records of the War Resisters' International by the W.R.I.

Secretary

GRACE M. BEATON

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